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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4758

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UK, UR, BU, CZ, PL, YO

SUBJ: UK BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS AND EASTERN EURO-
PEAN LEADERS DURING HELSINKI SUMMIT

REF: MOSCOW 11221 (NOTAL)

1. THE UK DELEGATION HAS CIRCULATED TO OTHER DELEGATIONS THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF MEETINGS PRIME MINISTER WILSON AND FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN HAD WITH SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS DURING THE HELSINKI SUMMIT. AS A SIDELIGHT, WE NOTE THAT IN THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF WILSON'S TALK WITH BREZHNEV, THE BRITISH DO NOT MENTION THAT PORTUGAL WAS DISCUSSED, THOUGH THE REFTEL REPORTS IT WAS. THE BRITISH HERE PRESUMABLY ADAPTED THE TEXT THEY CIRCULATED HERE TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE FACT THAT THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION WAS ONE OF THE RECIPIENTS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

1. ANGLO/SOVIET MEETING

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THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY MET MR BREZHNEV AND MR GROMYKO ON 1 AUGUST, JUST BEFORE THE SIGNING CEREMONY. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT HIS SPEECH TO THE CON-

ERENCE HAD REFLECTED THE ASPIRATIONS WHICH HE AND MR BREZHNEV HAD EXPRESSED IN MOSCOW IN FEBRUARY. HE HAD QUOTED THE DEFINITION OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE WHICH MR BREZHNEV HAD GIVEN ON THAT OCCASION. IN THE FIELD OF TRADE, HE HAD BEEN GLAD TO HEAR THAT GVISHIANI, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO LONDON HAD SAID THAT EXPECTATIONS IN THIS SPHERE HAD BEEN EXCEEDED.

2. MR BREZHNEV REPLIED THAT THIS WAS ONLY A BEGINNING. MR WILSON'S VISIT TO MOSCOW HAD NOT BEEN MERELY A PROTOCOL OCCASION. THE TWO COUNTRIES COULD MOVE FORWARD IN A BOLD WAY, AND THERE WERE THINGS THAT NEEDED TO BE BROUGHT FORWARD AND TALKED ABOUT. MR BREZHNEV SAID THAT HIS OWN SPEECH HAD SPELT OUT THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TO CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. HE BELIEVED THAT A LOT OF WHAT HAD PILED UP IN THE PAST WOULD BE CLEARED AWAY AFTER THE CONFERENCE. IN PARTICULAR THE EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION AND HUMAN CONTACTS COULD ASSUME DIFFERENT FORMS; THEY COULD EITHER PROMOTE FAVOURABLE TRENDS OR THEY COULD POISON THE ATMOSPHERE. THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD DO ALL IT COULD TO ENSURE THAT ITS PROPAGANDA DID EVERYTHING TO PROMOTE CLOSER TIES WITH BRITAIN AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

3. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE CONVERSATION WAS GOOD. MR BREZHNEV SPOKE IN MODERATE AND POSITIVE TERMS AND HIS ENERGY AND COMMAND OF THE SITUATION SEEMED UNDIMINISHED. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ABLE TO HAND TO MR GROMYKO AS THE MEETING BROKE UP A LIST OF SOVIET JEWS WHOSE CIRCUMSTANCES HAD GIVEN RISE TO PARLIAMENTARY CONCERN.

4. ANGLO/BULGARIAN MEETING

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS MET THE FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV FOR HALF AN HOUR ON 31 JULY.

5. MR CALLAGHAN EXPLAINED HMG'S POLICY OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. WE HAD TO CONFOUND THE CRITICS OF CSCE BY HARD WORK IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONSTRUCT A PACKAGE ON FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHICH WOULD MAINTAIN THE SECURITY OF ALL CON-
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CERNED.

6. MR MLADENOV SAID THAT ALL SIGNATORIES SHOULD MAKE PROPOSALS FOR IMPLEMENTING CSCE DOCUMENTS. ON BASKET III HE SAID THAT BULGARIANS WERE FREE TO MARRY AND LEAVE THE COUNTRY. THERE WAS A VISA-FREE REGIME FOR TOURISTS. BULGARIA WAS READY TO MAKE A CONCRETE CONTRIBUTION TO FREER MOVEMENT BY SIGNING A VISA ABOLITION AGREEMENT AT ANY TIME.

7. ANGLO/CZECHOSLOVAK MEETING

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY

MET PRESIDENT HUSAK, PRIME MINISTER STROUGAL AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK (DR RUZEK WAS ALSO PRESENT) ON 30 JULY.

8. PRESIDENT HUSAK CONGRATULATED THE PRIME MINISTER ON HIS SPEECH TO THE CONFERENCE AND RECALLED BRITISH PRESS CRITICISM OF MR WILSON'S LAST VISIT TO PRAGUE AND COMMENTED THAT ANGLO/CZECH-OSLOVAK RELATIONS HAD IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY SINCE THEN. FURTHER PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE IN BILATERAL TRADE IN THE FIELDS OF CULTURAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CO-OPERATION.

9. THE PRIME MINISTER AGREED THAT HE HAD BEEN CRITICIZED BY THE LEFT WING OF HIS PARTY AT THE TIME OF HIS LAST VISIT TO PRAGUE, BECAUSE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAD BEEN IMPRISONED. WERE THERE ANY SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN PRISON NOW? PRESIDENT HUSAK REPLIED THAT THERE WERE NONE NOW AND HAD BEEN NONE THEN. THE PRIME MINISTER ASKED WHETHER HE COULD SEND THE PRESIDENT A LIST OF NAMES OF PEOPLE WHOSE CIRCUMSTANCES HAD GIVEN RISE TO CONCERN. PRESIDENT HUSAK AGREED, COMMENTING THAT THERE WERE NOW "ONLY FIVE OR SIX POLITICAL PRISONERS" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ALL OF THEM FORMER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE PRIME MINISTER REMARKED THAT IN BRITAIN WE DID NOT PUT COMMUNISTS IN PRISON.

10. MR CALLAGHAN SAID THAT IT WAS BRITISH POLICY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THE IMPROVEMENT WAS BEGINNING AT DIFFERENT LEVELS BUT THERE WERE NO EXCLUSIONS.

11. PRESIDENT HUSAK SAID THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS NOT IMPATIENT. HE KNEW THAT EMIGRE ELEMENTS TRIED TO USE THE MEDIA TO UNDERMINE BRITISH POLICY BUT GIVEN GOOD-WILL ON BOTH SIDES THESE
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PROBLEMS COULD BE OVERCOME.

12. THE CZECHOSLOVAKS WERE NOTABLY RELAXED AND CORDIAL.

13. ANGLO/POLISH MEETING

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY MET FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK, PRIME MINISTER JAROSZEWICZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI ON 1 AUG.

14. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE DECLARATION ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS SIGNED IN WARSAW ON 15 JULY 1975 PROVIDED A GOOD BASIS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT. THE POLES STRESSED THEIR CONCERN TO RESTORE THE BALANCE OF ANGLO/POLISH TRADE BY INCREASING THEIR EXPORTS AND THE PRIME MINISTER ASSURED THEM THAT WE FULLY ACCEPTED THAT TRADE SHOULD BE TWO WAY. WHATEVER ELATIONSHIP EVENTUALLY DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE EEC AND CMEA, BILATERAL RELATIONS WOULD REMAIN IMPORTANT. THE GREATER PART OF THIS DISCUSSION WAS CONCERNED WITH THE POSSIBLE EXPANSION OF ANGLO/POLISH ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CO-OPERATION.

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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 4758

15. ANGLO/YUGOSLAV MEETING

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY
MET PRESIDENT TITO, MR KARDELJ AND MR MINIC ON 31 JULY.

16. THE PRIME MINISTER ASKED WHETHER PRESIDENT TITO HAD ANY
SUGGESTIONS FOR WAYS IN WHICH ANGLO/YUGOSLAV RELATIONS COULD
BE IMPROVED. PRESIDENT TITO SAID THAT OUR RELATIONS WERE VERY
GOOD: THERE WAS ALWAYS SCOPE FOR IMPROVEMENT IN TRADE AND HE
THOUGHT THAT MORE COULD PROBABLY BE DONE IN THE MILITARY FIELD.

17. MR CALLAGHAN COMMENTED THAT MR BREZHNEV'S SPEECH TO THE
CONFERENCE EARLIER IN THE DAY HAD BEEN RELATIVELY FREE FROM
POLEMICS: WHAT DID PRESIDENT TITO THINK? PRESIDENT TITO SAID
THAT MR BREZHNEV WAS THE MOST POLITICALLY FLEXIBLE OF THE SOVIET
LEADERS. THE PRIME MINISTER RECALLED HIS VARIOUS MEETINGS WITH
SOVIET LEADERS IN THE PAST AND SAID THAT HE HAD SHARED THE
PRESIDENT'S AVERSION TO STALIN. PRESIDENT TITO AGREED THAT
HIS EXPERIENCE OF STALIN HAD BEEN VERY BAD - YUGOSLAVIA HAD HAD
NO CHOICE BUT TO QUARREL WITH HIM. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT
THE KIND OF MEETING WHICH WAS TAKING PLACE IN HELSINKI SHOULD

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MAKE EVENTS OF THAT KIND LESS LIKELY. IF MR BREZHNEV'S SPEECH

TO THE CONFERENCE HAD BEEN MADE IN 1948, SOVIET ACTIONS THEN WOULD HAVE BEEN VERY DIFFERENT TO JUSTIFY - SO WOULD SOVIET INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA 20 YEARS LATER. MR WILSON SAID THAT FEW PEOPLE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT, IN 1948, THAT A SOVIET LEADER WOULD BE CALLED TO A EUROPEAN ROSTRUM BY THE PRESIDENT OF YUGOSLAVIA TO MAKE, UNDER YUGOSLAV CHAIRMANSHIP THE KIND OF SPEECH WHICH HE HAD DELIVERED. PRESIDENT TITO COMMENTED THAT YUGOSLAVIA'S PROBLEMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAD TAKEN A LONG TIME TO RESOLVE AND HAD COST HIS COUNTRY A GREAT DEAL IN NERVES AND EFFORT, MR KARDELJ ADDED THAT THIS HAD COST YUGOSLAVIA FIVE YEARS OR MORE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

18. PRESIDENT TITO WAS ALERT AND RELAXED THROUGHOUT. HE TOOK FEW INITIATIVES IN THE DISCUSSION BUT HIS CONCENTRATION DID NOT SLACKEN. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS EXTREMELY FRIENDLY AND KARDELJ WAS NOTABLY FORTHCOMING. END TEXT: BRUCE

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